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ABSTRACT

This collection of references and research findings was initially compiled in connection with a conference on the "Linguistic Needs of West Indian Children." The first section includes research reviews and critiques. The second section includes research on the following subjects: (1) ability; (2) attainment/achievement; (3) attitudes, racial awareness, and friendship patterns; (4) behavior disturbance in schools; (5) behavior disturbance in clinics; (6) behavior disturbance in Community Home Schools; (7) school curriculum and teachers; (8) social and cultural background of Caribbean migrants. Section three is a bibliography on education in the Caribbean, and Section four is a description of conclusions reached in five American studies on race and education. (RLV)

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The Education of Children of Caribbean Origin: Select Research Bibliography

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Preface

This bibliography was initially compiled in connection with a conference on the 'Linguistic needs of West Indian children' that Mr S Johnston, one of the Field Officers at the Centre, organised in 1977. It has since been revised, extended and up-dated.

The bibliography itself is arranged under four main sections - reviews/critiques, research finding and conclusions from studies in U.K., education in the Caribbean and a sample of five studies from the U.S.A. All sections (and sub-sections) except the third have brief abstracts of some selected research studies. 'Related readings' are lists of articles/ books with a great deal of reference to research. Two main factors influenced the selection of studies: they should be available within a set period allocated to the work and they must be relevant to the contemporary scene. The five studies in section 4 are intended to give a flavour of the vast literature available on the education of black children in the U.S.A.

One of the difficulties in reporting research has been the proliferation of terms used to refer to children of Caribbean origin. 'West Indian' is the most commonly used adjective, but 'coloured', 'black', 'immigrant', and 'negro' are all scattered in the literature. The original terms have been retained except in somce cases where it sounded ambiguous. 'Caribbean', the word that the people themselves perhaps use most often, has been preferred for use in the title of this bibliography.

In many cases the research findings are tentative mainly because of the inadequacy of sampling and the doubtful validity of the assessment material or methodology used. All the same, the trends are worthy of attention of all those concerned with the education of children of Caribbean origin. They indicate that given relevant experience and a climate of acceptance free of prejudice, the children should prove able, attain high and behave according to accepted norms.

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I RESEARCH REVIEWS/CRITIQUES

Bagley (1977) summarises his review of studies in a series of brief conclusions:

(1) There are two types of evidence on the educational achievement of West Indians in British schools. The first is based on group tests using conventional tests of achievement. The second is based on individual testing using conventional psychometric tests. In both types of test situation it is rare for test conditions adequate for examining ethnic minority groups to be developed.

(2) The trend in most of these studies is for black children to have significantly poorer scores than their white counterparts. However, when factors such as social class, length of exposure to the British educational system, and school quality are taken into account, differences in test scores between blacks and white narrow considerably.

(3) Scientific racist attempts to show that differences in intellectual functioning between black and white are a function of genetics fail, because the genetic evidence on which they base their case is unreliable, and secondly because of their failure to adequately consider social influences upon I.Q. Adoption studies for example show just how powerful the influence of environment can be in moulding intellectual development.

(4) A much broader concept of cognitive functioning is proposed, including the areas covered by traditional psychometric tests, Piagetian tests, and tests of cognitive style, as well as measures of achievement, and of vocationally-orientated skills. A broad programme of cross-cultural studies can show which aspects of cognitive functioning are specific to particular cultures; and which are common to all cultures.

(5) Creole for example, the Jamaican Creole spoken by about sixty per cent of West Indian immigrants in Britain, is an important language in its own right. Educational authorities in Britain and in Jamaica have failed to treat Creole as a first language and some of the educational difficulties (and subsequent alienation) of black children in both cultures is due to this fact.

(6) A study has been carried out which attempts to construct a taxonomy of educational achievement in West Indian children in a sample of London schools. The most successful are those whose parents come from Caribbean areas other than Jamaica, whose parents are well educated, materially successful, speak both standard English and Creole and who are critical of English institutions, including the educational system.

The least successful children (who were the most alienated, had poorest self-esteem, and who were negatively labelled by their teachers) tended to come from materially poor homes, in which a Jamaican parent or parents had relatively few years of education, and were monolingual in Creole.

(7) An examination of the Jamaican educational system indicates serious deficiences in comparison with some other Caribbean territories. In Jamaica, education and stratification are intertwined, and the gross deficiences of the educational system are a form of class oppression. But the Jamaican masses (like their migrant counterparts in Britain) have a naive faith in education, and the alienation implicit in educational deprivation goes "unmasked".

(8) In Britain, many black children become increasingly and consciously alienated from an educational system which serves them so badly. The development of a Creole-speaking sub-culture of black youth, angry at the forces of racism and cynical about the legitimacy of many aspects of British society, is an indication that alienation may be leading to important social changes in second-generation blacks.

(9) Finally, a programme of educational reform is advocated * which emphasizes pluralism in schools, with due weight to the primacy of the language and culture of the different ethnic groups living in Britain today. The ultimate aim, in an integrated educational system, is that each ethnic group shall not only be magnanimously proud of its own culture, language and social and religious tradition, but shall also be aware of, and tolerant of, the culture and traditions of others.

B.

Rutter and Madge (1976) have done an excellent review of the literature available on research into the more pronounced types of disadvantages existing in present-day Britain. Some of the more important findings and conclusions on disadvantaged West Indian children are as follows:

(i) 'The health surveys suggest that most children are healthy, although lack of immunity against some diseases (especially among adults) and poor living conditions have been associated with high rate of certain infections, diseases and occasionally dietary disorders'.

(ii) 'The proportion of West Indian children in schools for the deaf is exceptionally high'.

(iii) 'West Indian children are twice as likely to come from large families and more likely to come from one parent families than indigenous white children'.

(iv) 'The sparse available evidence suggests little difference between West Indian and indigenous white families in the quality of physical care afforded to infants'.

* details in Bagley's paper.

(v) 'The limited available evidence suggests that children reared by minders do not have more developmental retardation and do not show more psychiatric problems than others'.

(vi) 'As a group, the children of West Indian migrants do not show an appreciably increased rate of psychiatric disorder, but they do show a particularly high level of conduct problems at school. These problems seem, in part, to be reactive to difficulties in the school situation which particularly press on immigrant pupils'.

(vii) 'There is some suggestion that adolescent delinquency among West Indians may be relatively more frequent, but reliable data are lacking'.

(viii) 'Children from immigrant families have been shown to perform less well in the British educational system and often to experience stresses associated with elements of racism in teaching. They have lower scores on tests of intelligence and scholastic attainment, they are more likely than indigenous children to be in the lower streams of ordinary schools, a higher proportion are in schools for the educationally subnormal and a lower proportion are selected for academic schooling at the secondary stage. This pattern is most marked with respect to children from West Indian families'.

(ix) 'The available evidence suggests that classical IQ scores (e.g. Raven's Progressive Matrices) is not as valid a predictor of educational performance in West Indian children and its meaning differs from that in a native white group'.

(x) 'The unemployment rate among young blacks is disturbingly high and the continuing high level of racial discrimination in employment is likely to increase frustrations and resentments as black people find that they do not get jobs that they are trained to do'.

(xi) 'Studies on preference for dolls (white and black) and racial awareness among young children suggest that many black children develop a negative self-image which is associated with negative feelings about blackness'.

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2 SOME SELECT RESEARCH FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

2.1 *ABILITY*

2.1.1. Vernon (1965) has reported the results of a comparative study of samples of West Indian and English boys on a series of tests and assessments. He found that the West Indian children did relatively poorly, but the 'deficit' varied considerably with different tests, being most marked for practical and some non-verbal 'g' tests and much less for educational attainments and for various perceptual abilities. There was very strong association between test performance of both samples and the assessed cultural stimulus provided by the homes. The 'factor structure' was similar in the two groups implying that intellectual development and environmental handicaps (poor socio-economic cultural and linguistic environment) are linked similarly.

Sample: 100 English boys in S.E. England and 50 West Indian boys in the West Indies

Age range: 10½ - 11

Tests: Matrices; Porteus Mazes; Kohs Block, Vernon Formboard; Three dimensional perception, Embedded (Gottschaldt) Figures; Reproducing designs; Draw a man; Mischel's Chocolate Test; Arithmetic; English; Vocabulary; word memory; Information memory; concept Formation; Piaget Battery

Assessed Environmental Variables: Regularity of schooling; unbroken home; socio-economic status; cultural stimulus; initiative; male dominance; planfulness; linguistic background

2.1.2. Houghton (1966) found no significant difference between the mean scores of English and West Indian children on Stanford Binet intelligence test.

Sample: 71 matched pairs of West Indian and English children from a socially deprived area

Age range: 4yrs 11 months to 5 years 6 months

Test: Stanford Binet Intelligence Scale Form L - M

2.1.3. Payne, (1969) found that West Indian immigrant children were significantly poorer in performance on a vocabulary test, a non-verbal intelligence test and a word reading test compared with British children of the same chronological age and level of socio-economic status, but were equal in performance on a classification test of concept formation when the two groups were matched for levels of vocabulary definition.

Sample: 99 West Indian immigrant children; 100 randomly selected British children and 99 British children individually matched with West Indian children according to verbal ability

Age range: 7 - 8

Tests: Crichton Vocabulary scales
Coloured Progressive matrices (sets A, Ab, B)
Burt (Re-arranged) Word Reading Test
A Concept Formation Test

2.1.4 McFie and Thompson (1970) found that the performance and verbal IQ of West Indian children were lower than those of a match group of English Children but significant differences were found mostly in the sub-tests of performance scale of Wechsler Intelligence Scale for children. The most important finding was that

that on vocabulary and four of the performance sub tests the West Indian children who arrived in Britain before they reached the age of 5 scored significantly better than those who arrived later.

Sample: 61 West Indian children who were referred to a London clinic
51 English children matched with the West Indian children

Age range: 5 - 15 years

Test: Wechsler Intelligence Scale for children (Scottish norms were used)

2.1.5 Bagley (1971) found no significant difference between the intelligence scores of West Indian and White indigenous children of similar home and material circumstances. West Indian children's mean score was 105.7 and that of white children 103.2

Sample: Two groups of children, one white and the other West Indian from two schools in the London area

Age range: 7+ to 10+

Test: Stanford Binet Intelligence Scale Form L - M

2.1.6 Watson (1973) found a significant increase in the mean IQ of slow learning West Indian children when they were re-tested after a period of 1½ to 2½ years. The mean rise was over 8 points of IQ in comparison with a rise of only 0.25 points among a control group of non-immigrants.

Sample: 14 West Indian children whose IQ was ⩽80 at the first testing only 12 were matched for age sex and ability. Mean IQ was 67

Age Range: 6yrs 10 months - 11 years 11 months

Test: Wechsler Intelligence Scale for children

2.1.7 Bagley (1975) studied the relationship between IQ and the degree of 'European blood' in people of African ancestry. He did not find significant differences between the IQ's of three groups of children, two of which had different degrees of mixed blood and the other one of 'pure' African origin. Mean IQs were 110.3 ('pure' African), 103.9(more African than European) and 103.3(more European than African) In fact, there was a relationship between IQ and social class

Sample: 17 'Pure' Africans; 13 'mixed' with small amount of 'European blood'; and 29 mixed with a large amount of 'European Blood'

Age range: 7 - 10

Test: Stanford Binet Intelligence Scale Form L - M

2.1.8 Stones (1975) has shown that the performance of West Indian children on Matrices Test does not differ from that of English children provided they are given relevant experience in task involving concept learning

Sample: 30 children of West Indian origin and 30 white children from two junior schools in the inner ring area of a Midland city. (15 boys and 15 girls in both groups)

Age range: 10 - 11

Task: Accurate grouping of Vigotsky material and 'transfer test' to assess the level of concept learning attained

Test: Raven's Progressive matrices

2.1.9. Yule et al (1975) found that in intellectual performance and educational attainment West Indian children in one of the London boroughs were well below the indigenous white children. It was also found that West Indian children who were born in U.K. had significantly higher scores than those who were born in the West Indies. The following results illustrate the gap in ability and attainment between the two groups.

(i) Group Testing (1st stage of the study including the total population)

		School population	"Indigenous" white	West Indian born in U.K.	West Indian born in W. Indies
Non-verbal reasoning BD (National norm 100)	Mean	90.10	92.38	85.24	76.43
	S.D.	16.16	15.82	13.51	15.51
	N	2248	1668	201	143
Reading Test SRA Quotient	Mean	92.82	94.81	88.68	81.93
	S.D.	16.20	16.20	13.89	12.15
	N	2227	1660	200	135

(ii) Individual Testing (2nd stage; random sample)

	Indigenous			West Indian		
	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls
WISC (Shortform)	105	55	50	100	46	56
Verbal IQ	101.34	102.71	99.84	86.93	87.41	86.52
Performance IQ	103.93	108.29	99.14	90.43	94.26	87.17
Neale Analysis of Reading						
Accuracy (months)	115.43	117.07	113.62	102.99	100.13	105.35
Comprehension (months)	114.96	121.04	108.28	99.62	98.61	100.48

First Stage:- Sample:

2281 children in one of the London boroughs of whom 354 were of W. Indian origin

Second Stage:-

A random sample of 105 Indigenous white and 100 West Indian children

Age range: First stage - 10+ - 11+ (Summer term)

Second stage - 11+ - 12+ (Autumn term)

Tests: First Stage

(1) Non-verbal BD (NFER)
(2) Reading Test SRA (NFER)

Second Stage

(1) WISC Short Form (Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children)
(2) Neale Analysis of Reading Ability.

2.1.10. Hegarty (1976) reports the progress that NFER has achieved in the validation of the Learning Ability Tests with immigrant children, especially West Indian and Pakistani. Analysis of results shows that the tests are better than the Wechsler Intelligence scale for predicting educational attainments of immigrant children. (Work is going on in revising two of the sub-tests and developing group versions)

Sample: 416 pupils comprising of equal numbers of Indian, Pakistani/ Bangladesh, West Indian and Indigenous white children

Age range: 5 - 6

Tests: Learning Ability Tests (Verbal learning of objects, Verbal learning of syllabuses: Analogies; concept formation; Number Series) and a short form of Wechsler Intelligence Scale.
Young Group Maths test, Reading Test NS45 and English Picture Vocabulary Tests were administered 12 months later to obtain criterion measures.

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2.2 *ATTAINMENT/ACHIEVEMENT*

2.2.1 ILEA (1969 & 1972) Literacy Survey showed that the reading attainment of immigrants (half of whom were of West Indian origin) was on average markedly lower than that of white indigenous children. The mean scores of the various groups were as follows:

	Reading Test SRA 1968 Survey 8+ Children	Reading Test SRB 1971 Survey 11+ Children
National Norm	100	100
ILEA, All Children	94.6	94.2
Non-immigrants	96.11	96.2
'Other' immigrants (mainly Europeans)	-	90.5
Indians	-	87.3
Greek Cypriots	-	86.1
Pakistanis	-	85.8
West Indians	-	85.5
Turkish Cypriots	-	82.3
	31,364	29,094

Sample: About one-fifth of the sample were immigrants

Ages: 8+ and 11+, Mean age in 1968 was 8yrs 7mths and in 1971, 11yrs 3mths

Tests: Reading Tests SRA and SRB (parallel forms), NFER

2.2.2 Sargeant (1972) found an overwhelming predominance of West Indian boys, proportionate to their number in school, in soccer, cricket and athletics. 'There was a high correlation between academic ability and participation in sports; both West Indian and white English participation was proportionally higher in the top streams.'

Sample: 969 boys in the third year classes in seven London secondary schools, 127 of the boys were of West Indian origin

Tests: Questionnaires on participation in the first two years of the secondary school

2.2.3 Payne (1974) has documented the attainments of the various ethnic groups of children in the four areas of England where the EPA action research projects were implemented. Both in London and Birmingham (two of the areas) where West Indian children were one of the groups, their attainment in reading was significantly lower than that of the non-immigrant groups. In each area, the test scores of all children increased between the five and seven year old groups but dropped between seven and ten. The scores of West Indian children however, began to fall off earlier than that of their non-immigrant classmates

and that decline continued much longer. The main results are given below:

TEST	GROUPS	AREA London	AREA Birmingham
	Infants		
1. EPVT Level I (National norm 100 Range 60 - 146)	Non-immigrant	97.9	89.5
	West Indians	86.9	81.6
	Asians	-	69.6
	Juniors		
2. EPVT Level II (National norm 100 Range 100 - 140)	Non-immigrant	92.9	86.4
	W. Indian	84.5	80.1
	Asians	—	—
3. Reading Test SRA (National norm 100; Range 70 - 140)	Non-immigrant	93.0	86.4
	W. Indians	88.1	83.5

SAMPLE	EPVT Level I 5+ to 6+ (age groups)	EPVT Level II 7+ to 10+ (age groups)	SRA 8+ to 10+ (London) 8+ to 9+ (Birmingham) (age groups)
London non-immigrants	957	1162	878
London W. Indians	298	250	161
Birmingham non-immigrant	342	785	360
Birmingham W. Indians	96	209	107
Birmingham Asians	121	373	173

2.2.4 Barnes (1975) found that although the 'psycholinguistic profile' of West Indian children followed the overall pattern of that for the non-immigrants, it was significantly lower on auditory reception, auditory association, verbal expression, grammatic closure and visual closure. There was some evidence to suggest that the experimental language work introduced in association with the EPA project only managed to weaken the performance of immigrant children on grammatic closure and verbal expression.

Sample: 205 non-immigrants, 30 West Indians and 12 other immigrant children in London

Age Range: 8+ age group

Test: Illinois Tests of Psycholinguistic Abilities (From Part 5: The Junior School Language work)

2.2.5 Little (1975) has done an analysis of the 1968 ILEA Literacy survey results with a view to examining the influence of such factors as 'percentage of immigrants on roll', and index of multiple deprivation. He has also compared the attainments of West Indian children with that of the underprivileged white indigenous children in the London EPA project. The main findings were as follows:

(i) The reading attainment of West Indian children was lower than that of the underprivileged white indigenous children in the London EPA project, before and in the early years of their primary education. The results of tests are given below:-

	Sample size	Reading Test S.R.A.	English Picture Level I (Infants)	Vocabulary Test. Level II Juniors
All Pupils	1341	91.0	94.5	90.9
Non-immigrants	957	93.40	97.9	92.9
West Indian	298	89.40	86.9	85.5

(ii) For both immigrants and non-immigrants the social composition of the neighbourhood seemed to account for more of the differences in performance than did immigrant composition of schools.

(iii) With the exception of extremes, social and ethnic composition of the school appears to have little influence on the attainments of either the immigrant or non-immigrant children.

(iv) The West Indian Children have a 'linguistic profile' different from that of the non-immigrant group. (Applies to EPA study only)

2.2.6 McEwen et al (1975) surveyed the Language proficiency (level of attainment in listening, speaking, reading and writing skills) of a representative national sample of second and fourth year junior school children in multi-racial schools. They also examined the influence of ten different factors (age, sex, length of residence etc) on the level of attainment, of English, W. Indian, Asian and European groups. The main findings on the performance of West Indian Children were as follows:

(i) The ten-year-olds were significantly better than the 8 year-olds in all skill areas except speaking

(ii) Girls were significantly better than boys in writing. The difference was greater among ten year olds.

(iii) In listening, reading and writing the children were at a significantly lower level than English children

(iv) Eight year olds were better than ten year olds in one of the speaking tests (Level 3 part 1) and in listening tests on 'words'. (This is an interesting reflection of the type of educational background of the children because the most of the sample of eight year olds had all their education in Britain whereas many of the ten year olds had only part of their education here.)

(v) British born children were performing at a higher level than those born abroad and educated partly in Britain, but they were still at a considerably lower level than English children of the same age group.

Sample	8 year olds	10 year olds	Total
Achieved total	1510	1562	3072
W. Indian group	285	363	648
Speaking Test Sub sample	178	187	365
W.Indian Group	42	58	100

Test	English Proficiency Tests NFER			
Sub-skills	Listening	Speaking	Reading	Writing
Level I	Test 1	Test 1	Test 1	Test 1
Level II	Test II (on tape)	Test 2 part 1 Test 2 part 2 Test 2 part 3	Test 2	Test 2 part 1 Test 2 part 2
Level III	Test 3 part 1 (on tape) Test 3 part 2 (on tape)	Test 3 part 1 Test 3 part 2	Test 3 part 1 Test 3 part 2	Test 3 part 1 Test 3 part 2

Speaking tests were administered individually.

Listening test Tests 2 and 3 items are on tapes.

2.2.7 Smolins (1975) assessed the comprehension skills of two groups of children, one English and the other West Indian, with three parallel tests of Neale Analysis of Reading Ability, given in three different ways. Each group of children was divided into three sub groups; good, average and poor, and on the basis of their reading age , each sub-group was given the test in the following three ways:

Method I : Pupils read the passages aloud and answered questions orally the questions being presented by the tester orally.

Method II: Pupils read the passages silently then read the questions silently and told the tester the answers

Method III: The tester read the passages aloud to the children and then the questions, also aloud. The pupils answered orally.

Smolins found that except among good readers taking the test in method III, there was no significant differences between the test scores of West Indian and English children. However, she points out that the relatively high score obtained by English children warrant further study, especially at higher ages, under more controlled conditions.

Sample: 164 children of which 20 West Indians (10 each of good, average and poor readers) were matched with English children

Age range: 8 - 9

Test: Neale Analysis of Reading Ability

2.2.8 Edwards (1976) assessed the reading comprehension test scores of two matched groups of children, one West Indian and the other English. Each group was further divided into three sub-groups (slow, average and good readers) on the basis of reading ages of the children. It was found that among average and good readers, the mean comprehension scores of West Indian children were significantly lower than that of English children. Edwards argues that dialect interference would probably be a major factor in the low performance of West Indian children.

Sample: 40 English and 40 West Indian children matched for age, social class and ability.

Age range: 11yrs 3mths to 12yrs 6mths

Tests: The Neale Analysis of Reading Ability

2.2.9 Phillips (1977) found that 'initial dialect differences make little contribution to Language Proficiency as it is conceived within school'. She gave NFER Language Proficiency tests to four groups, 'Native', 'Asian', 'West Indian', and 'Mixed", of first year junior chidren. The results showed that:

(i) there was little in the way of striking differences between Native and West Indian groups (Asian groups did best on the tests)

and

(ii) West Indian children performed rather better than Native children on listening and reading tests involving comprehension skills. (Level III).

Sample: 43 Native Whites, 39 West Indian, 15 Asian and 8 mixed, first year junior school children from three Manchester schools. Both the Native and West Indian groups were rather short of children of high 'ability'

Age range: 7 - 8

Test: English Proficiency Tests, NFER : 19 tests at three levels (words, sentences, passages) on four language skills - Listening, Speaking Reading and writing.

2.2.10 Driver (1977) investigated the curricular, extra curricular and leisure time activities of pupils in their final two years at a mixed modern secondary school situated in a suburb containing a high proportion of West Indians in a West Midlands city. Analysis of the data including test scores and CSE examination results showed that West Indian girls were achieving grade levels much higher than those of English pupils as a whole whereas the boys were doing rather poorly.

Sample: 131 pupils of whom there were 30 W. Indian boys and 31 girls

Age range: 14 - 15

Test/Exam: CSE, 11+ test results

2.2.11. In an investigation of factors associated with the achievement of 150 black children attending London schools, Bagley et al, (1978) * found that they could define three 'clusters' with distinct characteristics. The first cluster contained children who had a negative attitude towards themselves, their school and their ethnicity, and their work prospects. They tended to be male and their reading attainment was low. The parents were mostly of Jamaican origin, authoritarian in attitude, and they tended to speak creole at home. Teachers tended to see the children in negative terms. Other characteristics associated with them were as follows: poor material circumstances in the home, father in low status occupation, parents with only a few years of education and having a passive acceptance of English culture and institutions.

The second cluster defined a high achieving group of children whose parents were highly critical of English culture and institutions. The material circumstances of the homes were good, and the child had a positive image of himself and had good expectations of the world of work. Teachers tended to see them in positive form.

The children in the third cluster were low-achievers and they came from homes whose father was absent, and the material provisions were poor. The parents came mostly from Jamaica and they had a passive attitude to English culture.

Sample: 150 black children attending London schools

Age range: 10 year olds

Assessment: Information was collected on the following variables. Linguistic exchanges at home; parental authoritarianism; teacher's appraisal of child; child's attitude to school, learning and world of work; and child's self-esteem.

2.2.12 Black Peoples Progressive Association and Redbridge Community Relations Council (1978) have reported on the relatively low academic performance of West Indian children in Redbridge schools.

Results:

(i) The survey of attainments of 'Junior Four' children in eight multiracial schools showed the following pattern:

	No. of children	Verbal Reasoning	English	Mathematics
White indigenous	563	97.7	98.7	99.6
Indian Sub-continent Asian	107	91.9	92.6	93.9
African Asian	42	90.1	89.2	92.4
West Indian	66	85.0	88.6	86.1

(ii) The main points arising out of an analysis of the performance of West Indian pupils who formed 10% of one High school population were as follows:

(a) 'Although 27% of all 1st year pupils required remedial help, the proportion among West Indian 1st year pupils receiving such help was 46%'

* Abstracted from Bagley (1977) A Comparative Perspective on the Education of Black Children in Britain. Manchester: Centre on Educational Disadvantage.

(b) 'The average number of passes at G.C.E. O level and CSE Grade 1 was 0.7 per student for the whole school and 0.3 for West Indian students'

(c) 'Although West Indian represent 10% of Loxford school population not one West Indian passed a single 'A' level examination in 1977.

Sample : (i) Junior Four Survey : 778 children in 8 schools. Age range : 10+ - 11+ - of whom 66 were West Indian children.

(ii) Loxford High School : 1293 pupils of whom 152 were West Indian.

Tests: Standardised tests of verbal reasoning, mathematics and English developed by NFER for use with 11+ children.

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2.3 *ATTITUDE, RACIAL AWARENESS AND FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS*

2.3.1 Jaboda et al (1966) have reported a London study which showed that well-marked ethnic preferences reveal themselves among nursery school children. Marked differentiation of ethnic attitudes was also noted among the first and 2nd year infants, with the sharpest increase in hostility in the second year.

Sample: 172 white and 10 black children in three nursery and three infant schools in London.

Age range: 3+ to 6+

Tests: Two Doll choices Test
A Home Test (Two black, two white (English), one Italian or Spanish and one Indian family.
Tea party test. (Twelve black and white dolls)
A see-saw test.

Questions centred on preferences concerning playmates, neighbours and friends.

2.3.2 Rowley (1968) found that West Indian children showed the same tendency as children from other ethnic groups in choosing a majority of their friends from their own ethnic group, but the proportion (60%) is markedly different from that (90%) of the White children.

This pattern of in-group preference was found to increase with age. In out-group choices West Indian children showed a marked preference for white children while the white children themselves showed no preference for children from other ethnic groups. Having studied children's preferences for characteristics such as cleanliness, dress and gentleness and teachers' rating of friendship choices of children, Rowley concluded that the observed pattern of friendship was probably due to race and/or colour.

Sample: 1747 children in sixty classes in the primary and secondary modern schools in a county borough in the West Midlands. 63.5% were white 20.5% Indians, 14% West Indian and 2% European children.

Age range: 7+ to 15+

Tests: Sociometric Questionnaires
Friendship Survey - 12 questions about personal characteristics - answers on a five-point scale
Sociometric survey - 3 questions on choices of friends for 'play' 'sitting in class' and 'tea at home'.

2.3.3 Kawa (1968) studied the friendship pattern of children in a junior, a boys secondary modern and a comprehensive school in London. Black children, especially in the secondary modern and Junior schools, appeared to be more ethnocentric than others. They showed more expectation to be ignored by British white children than any other immigrant group did; they were the least to predict British white choosers.

Sample: 775 children in a comprehensive school. (32 were black.)
512 children in a secondary modern school (34 were black).

and 200 children in a junior school (25 were black)

Age ranges: 7 to 10+ and 11+ to 15+

Tests: Sociometric Tests
In the comprehensive school: list in order of preference the five best friends of the same sex in the school.

In the secondary modern school: (1) choose two best friends one from his own class and the other from the school. (2) name one boy least liked or disliked.

In the Junior school: name two best friends in the school.

2.3.4 Richardson and Green (1971) found that although, in general primary school children preferred white to dark skin colour in their best friends, children in a school with the highest proportion (35%) of immigrant children liked the coloured child most.

Sample: 504 children in 6 junior schools

Age range: 10 - 11

Test: 6 pictures - children were asked to rank them in order of liking.

2.3.5 Marvell (1974) investigated the influence on young people of the community, school, home and playgroup. He found that West Indian youngsters, on the whole, shared a common core of morality with English, Cypriot and Indian youngsters, unaffected by religious differences or the permissive trends of a secular society. Although the youngsters were responsive to those with whom they had a close relationship, there were tensions, for some, both at home and at school. The West Indian youngster, for example, sees the head teacher as a remote figure.

Sample: 120 youngsters from the mixed comprehensive schools of which 40 were English, 20 West Indian, 20 Greek-Cypriot - and 20 Indian.

Methodology: Participant observation, interviews with parents and community leaders and written tests and questionnaires for youngsters.

2.3.6 Milner (1975) has reported in two of his studies on the effects of racism on the children of West Indian and Asian immigrants to Britain. In his first study, four aspects of the children's attitude towards racial groups were studied, each via a separate group of questions. The percentage of out-group choices that each ethnic group made on each of the four aspects are shown below:

Milner argues that these figures support the hypothesis that a majority of the black children are in conflict with their own identity. (This was abstracted from chapter 4: Racism and Black British Children).

2.3.7. Jelinek and Brittan (1975) studied the pattern of friendship among children from a number of ethnic groups. They found that by the age of eight ethnicity was a strong factor in the choice of friends. West Indian children in secondary schools showed significantly greater own-group preferences in 'actual friendship' than white indigenous children. They also showed greater own-group preferences in 'desired friendship' than Asian children.

Sample: 677 pupils aged 8+, 611 aged 10+, 1507 aged 12+ and 1505 aged 14+ drawn from 13 primary and 12 secondary schools. Of these 188 aged 8+, 152 aged 10+, 244 aged 12+ and 232 aged 14+ were West Indian children. Other ethnic groups were British, Indian, Kenyan, Asian, Cypriot, Italian and others.

Age range: 8+ to 14+

Questionnaire: Three questions were asked, the first two on actual friendship and the third on desired friendship. Children were asked to name up to three friends they would like 'to play with at school', 'to have as friends' and 'to go about with at school'.

2.3.8 Verma (1975) has reported two studies, one on hostility and the other on self-esteem.

Study 1

In his study of hostility in multi-racial schools, Verma found no evidence to support that racially mixed environments were likely to create tension, anxiety and hostility.

Analysis of data from four multi-racial schools showed the following pattern; in two schools Asian groups were markedly less hostile than white and West Indian pupils, in one school the West Indian pupils had a lower hostility score than white and in the remaining one the white group had a lower hostility score than those of other groups. None of the differences was significant. The hostility score from the multi-racial schools did not differ significantly from that from four all white schools.

Sample: 319 pupils from 4 multi-racial and 4 all white schools. Multi-racial schools had between 20 and 50% of immigrants comprising 57 West Indians and 40 Indian and Pakistani pupils.

Age range: 14 - 16

Assessment Material: Scrambled Sentence Test (for assessing Hostility) There are two parallel forms, A and B. Each form has 50 items, each item consisting of a set of words which are in 'scrambled order'.

The pupil has to underline three words, of his choice to make a complete sentence e.g.

Your hand head raise

Study 2

Verma found significant difference between self-esteem scores between groups of children (Asian, West Indian and Whites) in any one school, and the same pattern was observed even when the sub groups were combined.

There was some variation in the mean scores of the groups e.g. White and Asian groups had higher levels of self-esteem as compared with the West Indian group (not significant).

Sample:	366 pupils from four multi-racial schools. One school had nearly 50% West Indians and Asians and the remaining three between 5 and 5% (53 West Indians; 70 Asians)
Age range:	14 - 16
Assessment:	Coppersmith Self-esteem Inventory.
Material:	To assess four areas of adolescents' perception of peers, parents, school and self.

2.3.9. Bagley and Verma (1975) have reported the results of their studies on inter-ethnic attitudes and behaviour in British multi-racial schools.

Study 1

In the first study Bagley and Verma used five attitude scales to assess the extent of racial antipathy in a sample of British teenagers (White, W.Indians and Asians). The major findings are as follows: (high scores indicate unfavourable attitudes in (i) to (iv).

(i) General Racism Scale: West Indians and Asians significantly lower scores than whites

(ii) Anti-West Indian Scale: (8 items) Whites and Asians had high scores.

(iii) Anti-Asian Scale (7 items): West Indians and Asians had fairly close scores while whites had high scores. (Asians were not a cohesive group, but consisted of Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Indians from India and Indians from East Africa).

(iv) Anti-White Scale (5 items): W Indians have much higher scores than Asians

(v) Black-Power Ideology Scale (2 items): West Indians have the highest score. (favourable to Black-power)

Attitudes on specific items

Item - 'Mixed Marriage' - West Indians are most tolerant.

Item - 'Keep Britain White' - White group is highly in favour

Sample: 118 White, 58 West Indian and 44 Asian teenagers in 12 schools in multi-racial areas of London and the Midlands.

Age Range: 14 - 16

Attitude Scale: Bagley and Verma's modified and extended version of the Wilson-Patterson Scale. Items in each scale (given above) consisted of words or phrases e.g. 'West Indians' Race Relations Act','Asian superiority' and 'Employing West Indians'.

The subject has to respond with yes (score of 1) or (score of 0) or no (score of 2) to the question 'which one of the following do you favour, approve of or believe in?.

Study 2

Two stereotype questionnaires one of 'forced choice' and the other of 'free choice' were used to assess the inter-ethnic attitude of English teenagers in multi-racial schools. The West Indian teenagers were seen in a favourable light relative to other ethnic groups.

Sample: 81 teenagers in eight multi-racial schools completed the 'forced choice' questionnaire.

155 teenagers from the same classes completed the 'free choice'.

Age range 14 - 16

Forced choice Questionnaire Subject was asked to rate on a questionnaire, with items on a five point scale, on six traits (e.g. clean-dirty) of 10 different ethnic groups including British.

Free choice Questionnaire Subjects were asked to describe the ten ethnic groups in their own words.

2.3.10 In an investigation into ethnic identity and cultural knowledge of children in three multi-racial schools in London, Bagley and Coard (1975) found that:

i) West Indian children displayed a disappointingly low level of knowledge concerning the cultural heritage of West Indies.

ii) a substantial number of West Indian children rejected their ethnic identity.

iii) There was a tendency for children who reject their cultural identity to be seen as behaviour problems in the class-room.

Sample: 1-in-7 random sample of white and West Indian children in three multi-racial schools, in London.

Age range: Children in Infant, Junior and Junior High Schools

Assessment: Interviews; questionnaire to teachers.

2.3.11. Aisthorpe (1976) found there was no firm evidence to support the hypothesis that 'underachievement in West Indian children stemmed from low self-esteem acquired as a result of identification with the values of the host culture leading to an awareness of membership of a low status group and internalization of negative attitude towards that group. In fact it was the high achievers with better self-concepts who showed less of a preference for their own group'.

Sample: 29 West Indian and 9 mixed children from one school.

Test Used: Child's perception of social roles of negroes and whites
Child's racial preference and perception of racial characteristics.
Child's self-concept
Child's perception of teachers' attitudes to self
Teachers' evaluation of child (Bristol Social Adjustment Guide)
Teachers' attitude towards West Indian children

2.3.12 Madge (1976) found that top Infant school children were aware of ethnic differences, but the extent and direction of the expressed preferences is strongly influenced by the situational context and by the competing factors upon which their choices could be alternatively based. (i) Black children preferred 'approved' figures (in stories) irrespective of their skin colour, but chose more 'friends' of their own skin colour. (ii) Age of figures in the photographs had little influence relative to either sex or colour.

Sample: 44 white (British or Greek) and Black (of West Indian origin) boys and girls from a multi-racial school in London.

Age range: 6 years 8 months - 7 years 9 months

Test: Sociometric questionnaire - Photographs Test; Sorting Task; and Stories test.

	Identity	Preference	Stereotype	Aspirations
English	0	6	0	9
Asian	17	74	65	63
West Indian	30	72	68	72

On the whole, black British children showed a strong preference for the white majority-group and a tendency to devalue their own group.

Sample: 500 children drawn equally from the West Indian, Asian and English groups within schools in two large cities, one of which had West Indians as the majority of the immigrant population and the other Asian. Schools in the two cities were matched as far as possible, as had been the areas themselves.

Age Range: 5+ to 8+

Tests: A series of questions were asked,each question requiring the child to make a choice between two dolls or two pictures. One doll or picture represented the child's own racial group while the other figure represented the other principal racial group in the child's immediate environment.

Examples of questions in each of the following four aspects:

(1) Child's racial identity or related identification.
e.g. "which doll looks most like you?"
"If you could be one of these two dolls, which one would you rather be?".

(2) Child's straightforward preferences for one racial group over another.
e.g. "which of the two dolls do you like best?"
"which figures looks like your best friend"

(3) Child's rudimentary sterotypes about the characteristics of each racial group.
e.g. "point out the 'bad' doll".
"point out the 'nicest' doll".

(4) Child's social aspirations in the future.
e.g. which of the two families of dolls would the child like to live next door to (when grown up)?
which doll the child would go to work with?

In the second study, Milner gave a series of identification tests with some of the West Indian children, after a period of one year. Half the sample maintained the same choice of figure from the first test to the second, whereas the other half changed their choices. The details are as follows:

Consistency of choices over two identity tests:

Identified with black on both occasions	Black to White	White to Black	Identified with Whites on both occasions
31.25%	6.25%	43.75%	18.75%

Jelinek (1977) studied the attitude of pupils from seven ethnic groups towards the 'atmosphere' of multi-racial school, school work and school in general. She found that West Indian pupils held distinctive views on all three aspects. They held the least favourable attitude towards multi-racial school and were least concerned with school work, but they had favourable attitudes toward school in general. This attitude was most pronounced at the age of 10+.

Sample: 3551 pupils from 13 primary and 12 secondary schools in England. 604 were 10+ 1488 were 12+ and 1459 were 14+.

Assessment Material: A 33 - item attitude questionnaire.

Examples:

ASPECT		ITEM
Multi-racial school	:	It is fun to be in a school with children from many different countries.
School Work	:	School work worries me.
School in general	:	My teachers are friendly, I am happy in school.

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2.4 *BEHAVIOUR DISTURBANCE (SCHOOLS)*

2.4.1 Wight and Norris (1969) compared the adjustment scores of West Indian and English children in the age range of 5 to 13 and reported a number of findings:

(i) At the infant level West Indian children were described as significantly more restless, hostile to adults, anxious for the approval of other children, while at the same time expressing hostility to them.

(ii) At the junior level they show almost similar characteristics, but they are unconcerned for adult approval.

(iii) At the secondary level, they were significantly more hostile to adults.

Sample: 220 West Indian children and 102 English children

Age-range: 5 to 13+

Test/
Questionnaire: Bristol Social Adjustment Guide

2.4.2 Bagley (1972) found increased prevalance of behaviour deviance among West Indian children attending five junior schools in London. Analysis of the data showed that the children in question were often absent from school, miserable and worried, but rarely fussy or over-particular. The behaviour deviance was particularly high in children who had prolonged separation from parents. However, even detailed analysis did not point to any variable which will account for the increased deviance in behaviour.

Sample: 122 English and 74 West Indian children
(A small number of Irish children were included in the English group)

Test: Rutter's Behaviour Questionnaire. Scale B(2)

2.4.3 Rutter et al (1975) found that 10 year old West Indian children did not differ from other children in terms of behaviour disorder at home or emotional disturbance in any setting, but they showed more behavioural difficulties in school. The proportions of children with deviant scores on the Behaviour Questionnaire, scale B(2) used in the population survey of all ten year olds in an inner London Borough were as follows:

	Boys			Girls		
	emotional %	conduct %	mixed %	emotional %	conduct %	mixed %
Children from non-immigrant families	7.7	14.2	2.6	6.5	5.1	1.6
Children from West Indian families	6.4	40.1	2.3	6.6	25.8	1.7

Conduct disorders include such categories as restlessness, destructive nature and quarrelsome attitude. Interviews with teachers and parents confirmed the questionnaire results.

It was also found that the prevalence of disorder was not associated with the place of birth of the West Indian child.

Sample:

First stage: All ten year olds (1613) in one of the inner London boroughs

Second stage:
A randomly selected control group of 106 (1 in 16) non-immigrant children
A randomly selected control group of 58 West Indian children
A group of 159 non immigrant children (1 in 2) who were rated as having behaviour deviance
A group of 116 West Indian children who were rated as having behaviour deviance
30 boys and 30 girls randomly selected from the 116 West Indian children for individual study

Tests/ Methodology:

First stage. All the 10 year olds were given a number of tests and questionnaires. Rutter's Behaviour Questionnaire Scale B(2) was used to assess behaviour deviance. Children who scored 1 or more were rated as disturbed.

Second stage: Parents of children (mostly mothers) were interviewed for 2 - 3 hours at home to assess family interaction, relationships and style of life. Black interviewers were specially trained for the purpose of the study.

Teachers were asked to complete a social questionnaire. Brief interviews were concluded with class teachers of children who were selected for individual study.

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2.5 *BEHAVIOUR DISTURBANCE (CLINICS)*

2.5.1 Graham and Meadows (1967) studied the clinical characteristics of West Indian children who had been referred to a Child's Guidance Clinic over a period of three years. In comparing these children with a control group of disturbed white children, they did not find any difference in social class or family size or rate of current separation from parents. However, they felt that there was 'cause for concern in the frequent and sometimes traumatic separation that immigration patterns inspired' in the early years of the children's life.

Sample: 55 West Indian children (29 boys and 26 girls) and 55 white indigenous children matched for age and sex

Age range: Mean age of boys: 9 yrs 1 month
Mean age of girls: 9 yrs 6 months

Methodology and Tests: Interviews with mothers; school reports
Dennerby scale on parental care
Rutters classification of psychiatric disorder
(WSC or Stanford Binet Intelligence scale and Schonell Reading tests R1 were also given to assess comparative levels of intelligence and reading attainment)

2.5.2 Nicol (1971) found that among the West Indian children referred to a London Child Guidance Clinic, anti-social dis-order was much commoner in children born in the West Indies than those born in England and that these anti-social disorders were associated with separation experiences in boys, but not in girls.

Sample: 204 West Indian children (93 were born in Britain and 111 migrated from the West Indies) referred to a clinic in the decade 1960 - 69. There was a striking excess of girls among the referrals.

Methodology: Clinical diagnosis, but no details are given

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2.6 *BEHAVIOUR DISTURBANCE (COMMUNITY HOME SCHOOLS)*

2.6.1 Pearce (1973) conducted a two-stage survey of West Indian boys in Community Home Schools; some of the main findings were as follows:

(i) West Indian boys were over-represented (by a factor of 8.6) in Community Home Schools, possibly as a result of differential police activity. They formed 6.2% (325) of the boy population (5223).

(ii) There were some indications that inter-racial socialisation lessened, whilst West Indian group cohesion and conflict situation increased, as the proportion of West Indians in the School approached 3% and again as it approached 12 - 16%.

(iii) West Indian boys in Community Home Schools appeared to be falsely perceived as causing disproportionate control difficulties mainly arising from their ebullience, argumentativeness and group cohesion. These appeared to be genuinely disproportionate difficulties so far as rehabilitation was concerned.

(iv) West Indian boys tended to respond to kindly, firm control when combined with acceptance and lack of prejudice.

Sample: First stage: 5223 boys in 80 schools of which 325 were West Indian (652 girls in 25 girls' school, of which 72 were West Indians, were also part of the sample)

Second stage: 195 of the West Indian boys were selected for further study

Age range: 12 - 16 (818 boys)

Methodology: Questionnaire to 91 boys' schools. 80 schools made usable returns

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2.7 *SCHOOL, CURRICULUM AND TEACHERS*

2.7.1 Miller (1969) found that teaching designed to reduce racial prejudice among youngsters was followed by a significant increase in prejudice compared with the attitude change in a control group. The experimental group was given between one and three hours of teaching about race, using books, discussions and lectures.

Sample: 1340 male apprentices in 105 classes. They were attending courses in Liberal Education as part of their day release education. Sixty nine classes had experimental teaching.

Age range: 15 to 20

Test: A five-item attitude scale.

2.7.2 Durojaiye (1971) studied the extent to which three groups of secondary school pupils, benefitted from five areas of social activity - use of school and public libraries, out-of-school activities, out-group choice of friends, job aspirations and parental encouragement - in learning English. He found that the 'West Indian' and the English groups compared very closely with the 'solid working class family' which is characterised by an easy-going attitude, the use of the popular press, no great emphasis on books, children out of the house for much of their leisure time and parents and children taking pleasures separately.

Sample: Three groups, (English, West Indian and Pakistani) of 20 pupils each in a secondary school in a working class area of Manchester.

Age range: 14 - 15

Methodology: Interview.

2.7.3 Bagley and Verma (1972) evaluated teaching techniques designed to promote understanding of racial issues in secondary schools. The teaching techniques followed closely the 'race relation pack' of the Humanities curriculum project. On assessing the attitudes of the pupils after the teaching, it was found that prejudice had decreased, sometimes significantly. However, 43% white boys were found to be still highly prejudiced.

Sample: 226 pupils attending six comprehensives and secondary modern schools in London, the Midlands and the North of England. Seventy six of the pupils were immigrants.

Assessment Material: Wilson-Patterson Conservatism Scale.

2.7.4 Brittan (1976) investigated teachers' opinion on the necessity or desirability for changes in a number of aspects of curriculum and school life in multi-racial schools. The most outstanding feature of the findings related to the items (in the questionnaire used) concerning pupils of 'West Indian' origin. There was a high degree of consensus of opinion concerning the academic and social behaviour of such pupils. Responses to all three items indicated 'unfavourable' opinions of West Indian children.

75% of primary and 78% secondary school teachers disagreed with the statements 'West Indian pupils are usually better behaved than English pupils' and 'West Indian pupils tend to raise the academic standard of this school'.

57% of primary and 72% secondary school teachers agreed with the statement 'West Indian pupils resent being reprimanded more than English pupils do.'

Although there was a high level of agreement (70% primary and 71% secondary school teachers) with the statement 'The English spoken by most West Indian pupils requires special attention for the pupils to benefit from an English education' a small number of comments indicated fundamentally different attitudes towards the language spoken by the pupils.

Sample: 510 teachers (171 primary and 339 secondary) from 25 schools (70% response). The ethnic minority groups in the schools ranged from 18% to 84%.

Questionnaire: A 40 item questionnaire, most of which were on a five-point scale. The item covered curriculum and various other aspects of school life: the role of the mother-tongue, school organisation, the impact of the multi-racial situation on the teachers, etc.

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2.8 *SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND*

* 2.8.1. Pollack (1972) surveyed the performances of three groups of 3 year olds - English, West Indian and 'others' on developmental tests. She found that the mean scores of West Indian children were significantly lower than that of the other two groups on tests of language, and adaptive and personal - social - behaviour. She argues for steps to be taken to ensure facilities for pre-school education and improvement in parental attitudes and child-rearing practices.

Sample: 75 West Indian, 75 English and 13 'other' children, all in the researcher's (doctor's) practice in the Brixton area of London.

Age range: All children attained the age of three years between September 1967 and October 1968.

Tests/ Assessment: Gisell's developmental tests on 'Motor' 'Language' 'Adaptive and 'Personal - social',
Sheridans 'hearing' and 'vision' tests
Medical history taken from the mother and medical examination
Interview with mother to obtain a history of child's development and behaviour
A questionnaire designed to measure the type and quality of child care, the child's daily environment, the amount of play and stimulation given and the social and economic pattern of the parents.

* Although the abstract of research focuses on developmental aspects, this study sheds a great deal of light on family backgrounds and child-rearing practices.

2.8.2 Rutter et al (1975) studied the home circumstances and family pattern of immigrant (nearly half from Jamaica) and non-immigrant families living in one of the inner London Boroughs. They found that

(i) The rates of mental disorder and behaviour deviance were closely similar for West Indian and non-immigrant parents and the quality of marital and of parent-child relationship was much the same in the two groups.

(ii) The four most important areas where there were differences were employment, housing, family size and child rearing.

Employment: Very few of the West Indian parents held non-manual jobs and the proportion in minimal and unskilled occupation was double that in the non-immigrant families.

Housing: The West Indian families suffered from overcrowded, poor quality accommodation

Child rearing: Many more children in West Indian families have experienced child-minding by non-relatives during the pre-school period and more had been taken into the care of the local authority.

Sample: A random selection of 54 West Indian and 97 English families of 10-year old children in one of the Inner London Boroughs. The children themselves were part of a sample of about 2000 whose attainment and behavioural deviance were surveyed.

Methodology: Systematic, standardised interviews.

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3. EDUCATION IN THE CARIBBEAN

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4 FIVE STUDIES FROM THE USA

4.1. Guttentag (1972) studied the effect of community control on neighbourhood schools in Harlem, New York. She found that such decentralization had a favourable impact on the schools, the children and the parents. Some of the main findings are as follows:

(1) The climate of the community controlled schools was more open and more responsive to change than the climate in a sample of 'traditional' schools.

(2) Parents in this community are far more likely to visit community controlled schools than others in the sample.

(3) Reading achievement was stable in community controlled schools while the city standards were falling.

Sample: Experimental group: five community controlled schools in Harlem

Control groups (1) Schools in a neighbouring district in Harlem with similar socio-economic status and ethnic background.

(2) Schools in a suburban school district

(3) Sample of other schools in New York City.

Assessment) (1) Stern's Organizational Climate Index
Materials) (2) Stern's Activity Index

4.2. Katz and Ivey (1977) tried out a systematic programme to combat racism. The aim was to change both attitude and behaviour at the cognitive and affective levels. They report that at the end of a 26 hour experience the participants showed significantly less prejudice and greater awareness of racism as a 'white problem'. More importantly the trained participants began to act on their new beliefs and to become more consistent in their attitude and behaviour. A follow up study one year later indicated that the changes in attitude and modification in behaviour have been maintained

Sample: Twenty-four white students, half of whom served as control at the beginning, but went through the programme later.

Assessment (1) The stickler Anti-Black and Anti-White Attitude Inventory
Materials (2) Attitude Exploration Survey

Programme: This is in a handbook/manual format consisting of six stages or sections. Each section contains a specific rationale and goals. Earlier stages are designed to confront participants with the key concepts of prejudice and to help them sort through their feelings and reactions. They are then led step-by-step to develop specific action strategies to combat personal

and institutional racism. A novel feature of the programme is that it is designed for use with white people by white people.

4.3. Labov and his colleagues (1972) studied the relation of reading failure to peer-group status. They present evidence in support of their thesis that the major cause of reading failure among black youths in Harlem is cultural and political conflict in the classroom. The data was obtained by face-to-face interviews in small group situations. The most revealing case is that of a youngster 'Junior', who although 3 years behind grade in reading, has no difficulty in expressing his ideas logically and coherently. Labov writes: 'The school environment and school values are plainly not influencing the boys grounded in the street culture. The group which does show learning contains a large percentage of boys who do not fit in with street culture, who reject it or are rejected by it..... teachers in the City schools have little ability to reward or punish members of the street cultures or to motivate learning by any means..... We do not believe that the present college-educated teaching staff, black or white, has the specific knowledge of the street culture to solve this problem alone. Black teachers raised in ghetto areas are not members of the current street culture.....We propose cultural intermediary be introduced into the classroom in the person of a young black man?

Sample: 75 black youth, ages 10-12 in Harlem.

Assessment Materials: Metropolitan Achievement Reading Test

4.4. Scaar and Weinberg (1976) examined the degree to which environmental factors could have influenced I.Q. level of black and mixed-race children. The adoptive parents were overwhelmingly middle-class white Americans. The mean I.Q. of the children was found to be 106; and those adopted as infants had a mean of 110. The researchers conclude that the oft-repeated deficit in I.Q. between black and white children in U.S.A. may be accounted for by the differences in environment.

Sample: 130 black and mixed race children

Assessment Materials:
(1) Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale(with parents and children over 16 years.)
(2) Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children(with children between 8 and 15 years.)
(3) Stanford Binet Intelligence Scale(with children between 4 and 7 years.)

4.5. Scrofani et al (1973) report the result of their study to test Jensen's hypothesis that lower-class children are inherently less able than middle-class children to apply relevant abilities and previous learning to the solution of conceptual problems. They conducted two 30-minute training sessions in concept formation with three groups of fourth-grade children and then tested them on a conceptual problem-solving task. The results

indicated that training in concept formation eliminated the difference between middle-class children and lower-class children with high scores on cognitive development before training.

Sample: 36 middle-class and 72 lower-class fourth-grade children from six public elementary schools in Maryland were classified into three groups as follows:

(1) Middle-class children with above average I.Q. and high scores on two measures of cognitive development test scores.

(2) Lower-class children with below average I.Q. and high scores on cognitive development.

(3) Lower-class children of below average I.Q. and low scores on cognitive development.

Each group contained approximately equal members of white, black males and females. Half of each group served as controls.

Assessment Materials

Initial measures:
(1) A modified version of Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (I.Q.)
(2) Piagetian type multiple classification and multiple seriation matrix tasks.

Final measures:
(1) Free Recall Task composed of 24 pictures representing four conceptual categories.
(2) Free Recall task composed of 24 pictures not representing conceptual categories.

Training Material

Sorting exercises involving picture cards into four piles according to the conceptual categories they belonged. Display exercises where children suggested conceptual categories to pictures shown to them.

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